A constitution
Sovereign
of the Federated
Republic of India
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نقیح شدہ تحریر

A constitution of the Federated Republic of India

مولانا الحاج محمد عبدالکریم چشتی

« چھپا دست ہمت مین زور قضا ھی. »

(A Courageous hand has the power of Destiny.)

مثل ہے کہ ہمت کا حامی خدا ہے!

عبدالکریم چشتی

THE *Constitution* OF THE FEDERATED REPUBLICS OF INDIA.

1926.

THE

Constitution

OF THE

FEDERATED REPUBLICS

OF

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Contents.

PREFACE

to the

English Edition.

The reaction which set in within the Indian National Congress on account of the « Bardoli Decision » has not yet come to an end. For surveying the progress and the subsequent retrogression of the Indian National Congress, we occupied such a vantage-ground as made it easy for us to form a correct opinion about the political situation in our country at that time. We strongly desired to forestall this reaction, but we did not succeed.

At this time, we can make no forecast regarding the success of a Revolution carried out according to a pre-conceived plan in our country. But the study that we made and the expereince which we gained since we left India, helped us to arrive at this conclusion at least, that our country possessed not only enough of the ability necessary for achieving its own liberation, but also had the capability which could make it the leader of the coming World Revolution, provided we could prepare our masses

for the nascent Revolution, after having kept in view the following three fundaments:-

1) It should be openly preached to every Indian that he should achieve the complete independence of India; and the intelligent section of the population of the country be made to grasp the general outline of the future Indian State.

2) In general, the mentality of Indians, at present, is such that when any one of them begins to ponder seriously over the possibility of achieving the freedom of the Indian continent, he becomes over-awed by the idea of the magnitude of his task and the vastness of the country. Consequently, he either begins to wait for, and becomes a devotee of a Mahdi or Mahatma or lays down all his hopes in the victory of a Power that may be inimical to the British. Therefore, we should discover such a solution of this problem as may limit the responsibility of every Indian within a certain part of the country which may be considered to be a political entity, and in which one feels himself equal to the task of making a successful Revolution, so that he may be able to work there according to his lights and with conviction.

3) Leaving aside the theory of secularising the State by means of the dictatorship of a strong political Party, the disputes between various Indian

religions should be so composed as to make these faiths aid in the political advancement of the country.

Keeping these basic principles in view, we issued the Program of the « Sarvrajia Party » i. e. The Toiling Classes Protecting Party. This Program was secured a wide circulation as a whole and in parts through various channels for one year. Indeed, the work done in this manner was not very great in comparison to what could have been done, had we issued such a Program to the country from within the National Congress. But, if the distractions perplexing us and the fact that we were leading the life of exiles with hardly any tangible connection with our country, were taken into consideration, our success could not be called insignificant.

It should not be a cause of pride if extreme revolutionists, who had studied Socialist literature, were impressed by what we wrote; or if people like Maulana Hasrat Mohani and Azad Subhani co-operated in organising the Indian Communist Party. But when we find that persons and parties, so far considered to be politically more backward than the Indian National Congress, had also fully grasped our view-point and were thinking of out-stepping the Congress itself, as was demonstrated by the

Presidential Address of Sir Abdur Rahim at the Aligarh Session of the Moslem League, we feel very much gratified. The greatest cause of pleasure for us has been the fact that the Indian National Congress also is getting inclined towards the idea of forming an Indian Federal State. Referring to this fact, Lajpat Rai wrote in his weekly Journal, the « People » :-

« *So far the Congress favoured the policy of centralisation. But now a new element has entered in, viz: the idea that within the Congress, each Province should individually be recognised to be free and independent of the rest.* »

India is being influenced by so many revolutionary forces to-day, that it is difficult to attribute a change to one particular cause alone. But when we keep in view certain mentalities, we can be sure that for breaking their stagnation our Program will prove to be what is popularly termed as the last straw to break the camel's back.

We published our Program first in Urdu; but as the British Government in India proscribed it and banned its translations as well, we have made some modifications in its English version so that it may not be called a « translation » in the juridical phraseology.

Reserving for some other and more opportune

moment the individual expression of gratitude to each one of our brethren and kind friends, who rendered us literary, moral or material help in our work since we departed from Kabul, we avail ourselves of this opportunity, for thanking all of them collectively.

Out of those, who have been working with us, Zafar Hasan has already been, so to say, our left hand; but in formulating this Program and securing it a wide circulation, he rose to be our right hand. Along with this, Aziz Ahmed's efforts are also worthy of recognition, otherwise our work would not have been facilitated,

Had our work been shared by these persons alone, it would have resembled a family affair; but the co-operation of Teja Singh Azad made it a really national work. Azad is a young Akali who is well-versed in his own religion. His participation in our Program is significant for another reason as well, viz: that he considers such a Program even religiously necessary for his Sikh nation.

The pleasure which we would have derived from having been able to begin this list with the names of some great leaders as the executors of this Program, is not lessened in the least by the fact that we could mention the names of young men alone in this connection.

On the contrary, we consider their participation a good omen for the new Program.

« جو بڑھیگا مرتبہ اسکا بڑھایا جائیگا »

«*He who advances forward, shall have his rank raised*»

Dated:- Stamboul,
May 10, 1926.

عبیداللہ *(Obeidullah,)*
A Protagonist
of the
Sarvrajia Asiatic Federation.

THE
MAHABHARAT SARVRAJIA PARTY
AND
ITS PROGRAM.

Introduction.

سروری زیبا فقط اس ذات بی ہمتا کو ہی
حکمران ہی اك وہی باقی بتان آذری

"Sublimity befits only the Matchless Being
«Alone He is the King, others are mere idols".

Before presenting the Program of the MAHABHARAT SARVRAJIA PARTY, it is necessary for us to write a few lines about the CONGRESS COMMITTEE, KABUL. In 1915, some members of those groups which were striving for Indian independence, arrived in Kabul. Some of them reached there after traversing the mountainous & hilly tracts of Baluchistan and Pushtania (the N. W. Frontier of India); while others arrived there via Europe and after crossing the sandy plains of Persia. The activities of these persons made Kabul a powerful centre of the liberation movement of India on account of the sympathy of the Afghan Government.

First of all, the Czar apprised the British Govt:

of the activities of this centre, details of which were available in a Russian Pamphlet, called the "GOLDEN TABLET". A few days later, some of our correspondence was intercepted by the British Govt: in India, after which the British began to devote their full attention to the destruction of this centre, and eventually succeeded in making Ameer Habibullah Khan consent to the dispersal of these persons. Consequently, some of them were sent away from Afghanistan by the Ameer and others were interned and imprisoned in Kabul. But none was handed over to the British.

Indian Moslems, who could be suspected of having any connection with this centre, were all imprisoned in India. Sheikh-ul-Hind Maulana Mahmud-ul- Hasan's arrest and his subsequent handing over to the British by the Sherif of Mecca, were also connected with those events. The Maulana was imprisoned in Malta for a long time.

But this was not enough. The British knew that we had intimate connections with the various centres of the old Indian Mujahidin Colony in the Trans-Indus territories and with the new Afghan Emigrants. They further knew that even the obstacles put by the Ameer in our path, could not weaken those ties of ours. Hence the ROWLAT ACT was put on the

Indian Statute Book. The British Govt: had not the courage to take the Indian Legislature into their confidence. In the teeth of the united opposition of the Indians, the Rowlat Bill was passed by the Govt: on the strength of a majority secured through a political manœuvre. But this infused a new life in the Indian National Congress, & a tug of war between the British Govt: and Indians for controlling the Legislatures commenced, and Mahatma Gandhi appeared on the political horizon of India.

During the period of our incarceration, the Afghans were very sympathetic towards us. Their rich and poor alike, would render us help in time of our need, even without a previous acquaintance. At this time preparations for a Revolution were being made in Afghanistan. As we had intimate relations with the Afghan Revolutionaries, our work was never completely obstructed. Hence it was, that after the Russian Revolution, one of our friends could escape from the prison and with their help reached Bukhara during the winter season. The major part of our time was spent in those days in formulating a program for an Indo-Afghan Alliance.

On the murder of the Ameer, in 1919, H.M. Ameer Amanullah Khan ascended the throne of Independent Afghanistan. The World War had already

come to an end. Had the Afghan Revolutionaries succeeded in their first attempt on the life of the Ameer which was made when the War was at its height, the World History would have been quite different from what it was to-day.

We gained our liberty in the very beginning of the reign of the new Ameer, and the program, which we had prepared during the days of our imprisonment, proved of very great use to us at that time. We continued our work with complete freedom on account of the patronage of the Ameer till November 1921 i.e. till the conclusion of the Anglo-Afghan Treaty. We devoted ourselves to the study of international politics and the political situation in the Asiatic countries in general and the Islamic countries in particular. We enjoyed the best possible opportunities for such a study; and succeeded in diffusing correct notions and information about India also in Asiatic countries.

On the accession of Ameer Amanullah Khan, the Anglo-Afghan War was fought, in which Afghanistan gave us full opportunity for our work. But on account of unfavourable events, the desired result could not be achieved. Inspite of all this, these events favourably reacted on the Indian situation and during the next

one year, so great a progress was made by the Indian Movement, as would have otherwise been achieved during a quarter of a century perhaps.

In the beginning of 1921, some of our correspondence again fell into the hands of the British, which they utilised in November 1921. Maulana Mohamed Ali, President Indian National Congress, Maulana Shevkat Ali, President Indian Khilafat Committee, and Maulana Hosien Ahmed, President Indian Jamiat -ul- Ulema were tried in Karachi and were separated from Mahatma Gandhi. We think that the Karachi trial was simply a hoax and the case against M. Mohd: Ali was in fact brought up by the Law Member of the Indian Govt: in the Bombay High Court under the Rowlat Act on the basis of our letters. Under this Act, it was not necessary that M. Mohd: Ali should be informed of the real charges or that an explanation be demanded of him. After this, some 25000 Indians were put in gaols and Mahatma Gandhi ordered a retreat for the Indian Movement at Bardoli. This finished one phase of the Indian movement for liberation.

The only cause of satisfaction for us during all this time was this, that as a compensation to Afghan help for our work during the Anglo-

Afghan war, we could create a suitable atmosphere for Afghanistan, under which she could easily strengthen her independence. In 1920, thousands of Indian Moslems emigrated to Afghanistan. A Bill authorising the establishment of a colony of theirs in Afghan Turkistan and giving them full local self-government, was passed by the Afghan Govt: . At this time, we tried to secure from the Afghan Govt: a Charter for the establishment of an Indian University in Kabul. The Constitution of the University was presented to the Afghan Legislative Council, which desired some amendments to be made in it. It was finally sanctioned in the amended form in 1922 and some preliminary work connected with the Univesity was also begun.

Before securing the Charter of the Indian National University in Kabul, it was necessary to establish a branch of the Indian National Congress there. Hence was formed the Congress Committee, Kabul. The Indian group which was working for the last seven years in Kabul, now acquired this denomination and persons so far holding different political views assembled on its common platform.

Our Committee was affiliated by the Indian National Congress in its Gaya Session. But so far as we were concerned, events happened in

such a quick succession, that we came to know of this affiliation in Moscow. Hence we were obliged to ponder very seriously over the various aspects of the situation. In the end we arrived at the conclusion that we should begin our work anew.

Though at present we are not in Kabul, yet as our Committee was formed under this name and was affiliated to the Indian National Congress by this name, we will keep this denomination, no matter where we reside. Though our history presents a long list of defeats and is full of mistakes, yet it has one brilliant feature e.g. it is free from all contamination of despondency. We always keep the precept of Hazrat Sheikh-ul-Hind (Peace be on his Soul) in view:-

ایمن مشوکه مرکب مردان مرد را
درسنگلاخ بادیه پیها بریده اند
نومید هم مباش که رندان باده نوش
نا که بهیك خروش بهمنزل رسیده اند

"Consider not yourself to be too hopeful, for the stallion of the bold wayfarer
"May often be disabled by his enemy, in a desolate place strewn with sharp stones.
"Nor should you be despondent, for the Nectar-drinkers
"Have reached their destination all of a sudden."

THE SARVRAJIA MOVEMENT [1]

In Moscow we got the opportunity of witnessing the results of the Russian Revolution with our own eyes. For studying the Revolution thoroughly, the members of our Committee, learnt Russian language. We got the opportunity of having discourses with important Russian leaders. Members of our Committee went to other European countries to study the effects that the Russian Revolution was creating there. We studied the Turkish Revolution and visited Angora and Stamboul. The report of the information gathered and the experience gained by our Committee could be compiled in various forms. But we found it expedient to lay it down in the form of a Party Program.

اورون پہ کیون نزول بلا اپنی ساتھ ہو
اب ہم مکان شہر سی باہر بنائین کی

"We will build our house outside the city wall now,
"So that calamity may not befall others along with us."

We regretfully acknowledge this fact that our present generation is too far removed to be able to understand the meaning & significance of "Revolution". Very few persons,

(1) SARVRAJIA literally means the government of all; but here it is taken to mean the government by the toiling classes majority.

who saw the Delhi of 1857-58, are at present alive. To-day, people remember only some stories about those days. But upto this time nobody is born who would offer a scientific interpretation of this Revolution of India. Our political leaders have been brought up in colleges & have lived in hotels. Good-natured Gandhi's name be blessed that he revolutionized Indian mentality to a certain extent & directed the attention of the people towards those who lived in cottages and huts. Foundations of the India of future are being laid. Our Program shall serve as a guidance to those who would raise an edifice on these foundations.

We know that the Indian National Congress will not accept our Program easily and consequently we shall be confronted with tremendous difficulties at every step. To avoid these obstacles, we choose a special field of activity for ourselves where we can demonstrate the successful application of our Program in a responsible manner . The sphere of our activity shall be the basin of the Indus and its Tributaries, which stretches from Kashmere to the Arabian Sea.

We have joined to this region, the territory irrigated by the River Jumna and its Tributaries, and situated between Lake Manasarowar and River Narbada. If we succeed in applying our Program to this tract of the country which forms

the battle-ground of conflicting cultures and contending civilizations ,we are sure that not only will the Indian Problem be solved but also shall the Asiatic Question & the problem of the enslaved peoples be simplified to a very great extent.

Efforts for solving the Hindu-Moslem differences in India have been made times out of number, but no feasible solution has so far been discovered. The reason of all these failures is, that the problem is not being considered in its true light. If we look a little below the surface, we shall find that differences exist not only between these two communities, but that each community is itself cleft into various sections on account of national and social divergences. If among the Moslems the national question of Punjabi and Sindhi, Hindustani and Pathan, Kashmeri & Baluch is present; the Hindus are faced with the national problem of Bengali and Behari, Madrasi and Mahratta, Gujrati and Marwari on account of the diversity of languages. Unifomity of religion also could not smooth down the national differences of these communities.

Besides this, each of these "nations" has its class cleavage. The struggle between the propertied and the propertyless, the landlord & the cultivator, the capitalist and the worker can

easily divide each of these Indian Nations into two hostile camps. Therefore, to solve the Indian problem on a Religious basis cannot present a permanent way out of this *impassé.*

Hence it is that we do not take religion as a basis for the solution of this thorny question; on the other hand we offer a solution on the basis of national distinctions, class differentiations and economical and political grounds. This mode of tackling the situation automatically removes the religious dissensions also.

We propose to divide India into such parts, as are inhabited by one nation, members of which speak a common language and have a homogeneous socio-economic system. After such a division, followers of every religion get so grouped together that they form the majority of the population of some country or other & thus religious dissensions can be eliminated altogether. The right of representation in the Republican government of such a country is given by us on the basis of class differentiation and not religion; thus various religious minorities shall have their rights safeguarded.

If we compare the present-day industrial development of India with that of modern industrialised world, we find that India with

a capitalist system of economy cannot even peacefully compete with Europe and America, much less can she make herself a rival to British capitalists and imperialists and became fit for liberating herself from their clutches. The prosperity, which this system brings to the masses, is fully demonstrated in the industrialised West. By preserving this system of economy, neither we can achieve our liberation nor can the major classes of society have their welfare secured.

We, therefore, after uprooting the Capitalist System from the Indian soil, will lay the foudations of such a system in our country as will safeguard the welfare of the labouring classes of society e. g. the majority of the population and shall be controlled by these very classes. The adoption of such a system of economy will ensure success to our liberation movement also, for if once the sympathy of the masses is enlisted in support of such a system and program of work, it shall endure upto the very end; & therein alone lies the secret of the success of our movement. We are, no doubt, uprooting the capitalist system of economy, but in its place, we do not adopt such a system as has no place in it for religion or does not allow the right of holding even

small private property;for 72% of our countrymen are yet engaged in deriving their livelihood by the comparatively old mode of agriculture; & religious observances and customs have become a part of every-day life of our people.

If a program which disregards these facts, were formulated, it will give a set-back to our national movement; for the best police & army of our country are recruited from out of the ranks of the peasantry.

While proposing the new economical and political system,we have made it a necessary condition for the membership of our Party that our Party members, who are going to build up the New Free Indian State, shall keep down the needs and comforts of their lives to the standard of life of an average cultivator of land of their country, so that under our Govt: Capitalist System may have no possibility of revival and our Party Program may not be considered a vain display, or a political weapon.

There is not a single part of India, which is not inhabited by a mixed population of different races and creeds. To mitigate the evils of racial hatred and religious bigotry should be the motto of our youth. In our Program this item figures as the distinctive feature of our Party

Volunteers.

A country like India, has never remained, nor can ever remain isolated from the rest of the world. At present Indians feel a sort of repugnance to establishing foreign relations. But it is only a passing phase in their history. The more they take the political power in their hands, the more shall they be cured of this malady. For the sake of a progressive development of the foreign relations of India, our Party finds the scheme of Asiatic Federation the best medium. Hence this scheme forms an important item of our Program.

Twice before this, the idea of an Asiatic Federation was put forward by Japan and Turkey. But as these were imperialist Powers and could not count imperialist Russia among Asiatic countries, they could not succeed in realising this idea.

For the third time, this very idea is being advocated by India. If India bases this movement on the "SARVRAJIA" principle i. e. on the defence of the rights of the labouring masses and counts Socialist Russia among Asiatic countries, we are sure that India shall not fail to realise this great ideal.

In the opinion of our Committee, the scheme of Asiatic Federation cannot flourish unless

Asia succeeds in completely attracting Russia within its orbit. In the eyes of an Asiatic, the Russians are a semi-Asiatic people, who include nearly half of Asia in their domain. Russia has discarded imperialism and is fighting for a principle, the standard-bearer of which should have been Asia.

It is just possible that our friends, under the influence of the tales of religious persecution of the days of the Russian Revolution, be nonplussed on hearing the name of Russia being included in the Asiatic Federation Scheme. Hence we should make ourselves more clearly understood:

The Russian Revolution has two important aspects viz:-firstly, the present-day system of distribution of wealth and the right of possessing private property is being substituted by a new system under which public property shall take the place of private property and commodities (industrial goods and agricultural products) shall be made for use instead of being prepared for profit, This aspect of the Revolution is continually influencing the world.

Even if the Communist International does not succeed in achieving its final aim in the near future, it shall, at least, put the political and economical power in the hands of

the workers and peasants of the world. To overlook this aspect of the Revolution would be a clear proof of political short-sightedness. India did not take a lesson from the Great French Revolution and lost her greatness. We do not want that our country should remain blind to this event of world-wide importance i.e. the Russian Revolution and sign her own death-sentence.

A few miles further than the meeting-place of the Himalayas, the Karakoram and the Hindukush, our frontier touches the boundaries of Russia. It is our definite opinion that if we sacrifice all which we have gained during the last sixty years of our servitude and thus become altogether destitute, but succeed, instead, in gaining the friendship of the nations that live on the territory stretching from the North Western Passes of India upto the Arctic Ocean, we shall not be the losers in the bargain.

نہ سنبھلو گی تو مٹ جاؤ گی ای ہندوستان والو
نہ ہو گی داستان تک بہی تمہاری داستانون مین

"Indians! If you do not get warned you shall be obliterated and
"Not even a trace of your history shall remain in the world.

The second aspect of this Revolution is the separation of State from Religion, which attained

a high degree of violence in Russia, though it can in no way be compared with the atrocities inflicted upon Delhi in 1858; for, the domination of one part of a nation over its other parts can never have the same evil consequences as the conquest of one nation by another is bound to create. But that was not a normal state of affairs. On the contrary, it resulted from the reactionary attitude of the teachers of religion who made use of religion as a weapon in the defence of Imperialism & Capitalism. But as the situation changed and calm was restored, religious persecutions also lessened down.

Russian peasantry is as staunch in its religious beliefs as our peasntry is. While we were in Moscow, a Conference of the Christian Clergy was held there, in which resolutions supporting the economical and political policy of the Soviet Govt: were passed. Consequently they were given some religious freedom.

A similar Conference of the Moslem Ulema was afterwards held in Kazan; but we regret to say that the Russian and Turkistani Moslems are, so far as their outlook about European politics is concerned, passing through the same stage as the Indian Moslems passed through in 1872. They are easily duped by British

dipolmacy and Russia can never tolerate the interference of British Imperialism in her affairs. We simply wonder when we see those people whose brilliant deeds are being praised in India.

We, of course, do not claim that our information about Russia is so exact as cannot be contradicted even upon theoretical grounds. What we mean is this, that those who speak of Asiatic Federation in India, should undertake an independent study of the Russian Question and should not keep themselves confined within their own four walls under the spell of some wrong propaganda. We will be very glad, if some one from Asia would undertake to gather some facts and figures, based upon observation and experience, about this question, even though such a study were undertaken for the sake of refuting our notions.

In this Program, which we consider indispensible for our existence, we have allowed religion its full scope. If Indian religious leaders take up the economical and political program of the SARVRAJIA REPUBLIC and prepare themselves whole-heartedly for making it successful, neither their religion will be endangered, nor shall they themselves be

persecuted. Otherwise, nations have always brushed aside the obstacles they found jeopardising their right of existence; and Indians shall not be an exception to this rule.

As a result of the World War, the Russian, German, Austrian and Turkish Imperialisms and Empires are finished. New Turkey, though reduced in area, is every day growing into a more compact and solid State, which would be a source of pleasure to every inhabitant of the East. All these States are now engaged in their own reconstruction. But our Indian Moslems are busy in making a Moslem International Movement based upon republican principles, i.e. the Caliphate, successful. We will not grudge those of them, who do not rely upon the leadership of a Moslem State for their guidance, a statement of our limited study. If the Asiatic Federation Scheme materialises according to our Sarvrajia Principle, and the Moslem Nations do not lag behind in adopting this Program of ours, then, keeping within the limits of the economical and political policy of the Asiatic Federation, a special Section of the Moslems can be organised within this Federation, for the discussion of their specific problems.

• گریہ نہیں تو بابا وہ سب کہانیاں ہیں •

"If this is not done, then, all those other things are fiction and fables;"

and the "Khizr-i-Rah", by Dr. Iqbal, gives a correct representation by our views in this respect.

To speak of Indian Swaraj, whether it be taken to mean complete independence or Home Rule, and not to pay any attention to the question of "Indian Public Debt" is a proof of lack of business-like acumen in the handling of political problems. Having pondered over the various aspects of this problem to a certain extent, we have included it in our Program.

گر چه بی سامان نماید کار ما سهلش مبین
کاندرین کشور گدائی زیب سلطانی بود

"Even though our cause appears without rēsources yet think it not insignificant,
"For in this field, poverty carries with it the dignity of rēgality."

عبیداللہ (*Obeidullah*),

President,
Congress (Sarvrajia) Committee,
KABUL;
and Ex-Nazim,
The Nazarat-ul -MAARIF
DELHI.

Exposition of the Sarvrajia Principle, by means of excerpts from the "Musaddas", the well-known Poem of Khwaja Altaf Hosein Hali, the reformer of the Urdu Poetry of Delhi:-

CAPITALISTS:-

امیرون کا عالم نہ پوچھو کہ کیا ھی   خمیر انکا اور انکی طینت جدا ھی
نہ گفتار مین انکی کوئی خطا ھی   نہ کردار ان کا کوئی نا روا ھی
وہ جو کچھہ کہ ھین کہ سکی کون انکو
بنایا ندیمون نی فرعون انکو

Ask not about the mentality of the Ruling RICH;
Their nature & psychology are quite special:
They have neither a flaw in their speech,
Nor a fault in their actions.
Nobody dare tell them, what they are,
Their courtiers have made Pharaohs of them.

سمجھتی ھین سب عیب جن عادتون کو   بہایم سی نسبت ھی جن سیرتون کو
چھپاتی ھین اوباش جن خصلتون کو   نہین کرتی اجلاف جن حرکتون کو
وہیان اھل دولت کو ھین شیر مادر
نہ خوف خداھی نہ شرم پیمبر

The habits which are deemed vicious by all,
The characteristics which appertain to wild animals,
The demeanour which even vagabonds adopt but in private,
The acts which are not committed even by the meanest,
Are all considered legal by the propertied classes,
Who neither fear God nor feel ashamed of facing the Prophet.

نه مظلون کی آه و زاری سی درنا   نه مفلوك کی حال پر رحم کرنا
هوا و هوس مین خودی سی گذرنا   تعیش مین جینا نمایش په مرنا
سدا خواب غفلت مین بیهوش رهنا
دم نزع تك خود فراموش رهنا

Neither they are afraid of the moans & groans of those who have been wronged,
Nor do they take pity upon the distressed.
Their greed and desire make them exceed all bounds:
They live in luxury and crave for splendour,
They are surcharged with forgetfulness, and
Till their last moment, they are negligent.

پریشان اگر قحط سی اك جهان هی   تو بی فکر هین کیونکه گهر مین سمان هی
اگر باغ امت مین فصل خزان هی   تو خوش هین که اپنا چمن گلفشان هی
بنی نوع انسان کا حق انپه کیا هی
وه اك نوع نوع بشر سی جدا هی

If the whole country is distressed with famine,
They have no anxiety, for they live in plenty.
If the national prosperity is on the decline,
They are happy, for their private wealth is flourishing.
What claim has humanity on them?
Thier class is altogether different from the other classes of humanity!

کهان بندگان ذلیل اور کهان وه   بسر کرتی هین بی غم قوت و نان وه
پهنتی نهین جز سمور و کتان وه   مکان رکهتی هین رشك خلد و جنان وه
نهین چلتی وه بی سواری قدم بهر
نهین رهتی بی نغمه و ساز دم بهر

There is a world of difference between them & the depressed classes:

They live without the least anxiety regarding their
livelihood, and
Nothing but fine furs & delicate cottons forms their
apparel;
Their abodes resemble palatial buildings in Paradise;
They do not walk a single step on foot,
They do not pass a single moment without music.

کمر بستہ ہین لوگ خدمتمین انکی　　گل ولالہ رہتی ہین صحبت مین انکی
نفاست بہری ہی طبیعت مین انکی　　نزاکت سو داخل ہی عادت مین انکی
دواؤن مین مشك انکی اٹہتاہی دہیرون
وہ پوشاك مین عطر ملتی ہین سیرون

People are ready in their service every moment, and
The choicest beauties form their company.
Their deportment is delicacy personified, and
Formality has become a habit to them.
Heaps of Musk are used in their medicine; and
Their dress is luxuriantly fragranted.

یہ ہوسکتی ہین انکی ہم جنس کیونکر　　نہین چین جن کو زمانہ مین دم بہر
سواری کو گہورا نہ خدمت کو نوکر　　نہ رہنی کو گہر اور نہ سونی کو بستر
پہننی کو کپڑا نہ کہانی کو روٹی
جو تدبیر الٹی تو تقدیر کہوٹی

How can they belong to the same class as those
Who have no respite all their life,
Who have neither a horse to ride, nor a servant to
attend upon them,
Who possess neither a house to reside in, nor a bed to
sleep in,
Who neither have a dress to put on nor bread to eat,
Whose plans go wrong and whose fate is worthless?

TOILING MASSES:-

مگر اك فریق اور ان کی سوا ھی   شرف جس سی نوع بشر کوملا ھی
سب اس بزم مین جن کا نوروضیا ھی   سب اس باغ کی جن سی نشو ونما ھی
ھوئی جوکه پیدا ھین محنت کی خاطر
بنی ھین زمانی کی خدمت کی خاطر

But there is another class of men besides them
Which is the source of honour to humanity;
Which contributes to the wellbeing of society,
Waters the garden of life.
Is born to work and toil
And is created for the service of mankind.

یه برکت ھی دنیا مین محنت کی ساری   جهان دیکھئی فیض اس کا ھی جاری
یہی ھی کلید در فضل باری   اسی پرھی موقوف عزت تمھاری
اسی سی ھی قومون کی یهان آبرو سب
اسی پرھین مغرور مین اور تو سب

The world owes its splendour to toil & labour,
The fruits of which are seen everywhere.
Labour is the means to win God's blessings,
Upon labour depends the honour of all, yours
as well as ours.
Nations are respected on account of this
And all of us owe our pride to this.

ھلاتی نه اگر دست وبازو   جهان عطر حکمت سی ھوتا نه خوشبو
نه اخلاق کی وضع ھوتی ترازو   نه حق پھیلتا ربع مسکون مین ھر سو
حقایق یه سب غیر معلوم رھتی
خدائی کی اسرار مکتوم رھتی

Had our predecessors not worked,
The world would not have known the blessings of knowledge;
There would neither have been any moral criterion,
Nor would Truth have spread over the world;
All Truths would have remained unknown
And the secrets of God's greatness unrevealed.

گلستان مین جوبن گل ویا سمن کا   سمان زلف سنبل کی، تاب رسےکن کا
قد دلربا سرو اور ناورن کا   رخ جان فزا لاله ونسترن کا
غریبون کی محنت کی هی رنك وبوسب
کمیرون کی خون سی هین تازه روسب

The beauty of the rose & jessamine in the garden,
The grandeur of the spectacle of the hyacinth,
The attractive tall stature of the cyprus & witch-elm
And the alluring face of the tulip & rosa canina,
Are all fruits of the labour of the poor;
And are watered by the blood of the toilers.

چنین گر نه وه هون کهندر کاخ وایوان   بنین گرنه وه شاه وکشور هو عریان
جو بوئین نه وه تو هون جاندار بیجان   جو چهانٹین نه وه تو هو جنگل گلستان
یه چلتی هی گاری انهین کی سهاری
جو وه کل سی بیتهین تو بیکل هون ساری

If they repair not, palaces would crumble,
If they weave not, even kings would become naked,
If they sow not, all life would perish, and
If they prun not, gardens would turn into forests.
The whole social machine is worked by them;
If they were to take rest, all others would suffer.

مشقت مین عمر ان کی کٹتی هی ساری   نهین آتی آرام کی انکی باری
صدا بهاك دور ان کی رهتی هی جاری   نه آندهی مین عاجز نه مینه مین هین عاری

نو لو جیتہ کی دم ترانی هی ان کا
نہ تہر ماہ کی جی چھرانی هی ان کا

All their life passes toiling,
Their turn for rest never comes;
Their efforts and strivings never cease.
Neither storm nor rain deters them;
Neither burning heat of summer tires them;
Nor does chilly winter fatigue them.

کھپاتی هین کوشش مین تاب و توان کو — گھلاتی هین محنت مین جسم و روان کو
سمجھتی نہین اس مین جان اپنی جان کو — وہ مر مر کی رکھتی هین زندہ جہان کو
بس اس طرح جینا عبادت هی ان کی
اور اس دھن مین مرنا شہادت هی ان کی

They spend their energy toiling,
They exhaust their strength labouring,
They even do not care for their life,
They sacrifice themselves to keep the world alive.
For them such mode of life is Devotion
And such a death, martyrdom.

SYMPATHY OF THE TOILING MASSES AND SUBLIMITY OF THE IDEAL OF SARVRAJIA:-

بہت نوع انسان کی غمخوار و یاور — هوا خواہ ملت بہ اندیش کشور
شداید کی دریائی خون مین شناور — جہان کی پر آشوب کشتی کی لنگر
هر ایك قوم کی هست و بود انہی سی هی یہان
سب اس انجمن کی نمود انسی هی یہان

There are many helpers of humanity
Lovers of the nation & well-wishers of the country,
Who face all kinds of dangers

And serve as moorings to the storm-tossed boat of the world.
Such personalities sustain every nation
And such beings uphold the society.

نہ احباب کی تیغ احسان کی گھایل　　نہ بیٹی سی طالب نہ بھائی سی سائل
نہ دکھ دردمین سوی آرام مائل　　نہ دریا و کوہ انکی رستی مین حائل
سنی ہون کبھی رستم وسام جیسی
غیور اب بھی لاکھون ہین گمنام ویسی

They are neither under a debt of obligation to friends,
Nor are they in need of help from a son or a daughter:
They are neither deterred by disease,
Nor are they daunted by natural obstacles.
Like the legendary Rustam & Sam
There lives yet many a brave soul, though unknown.

کسی پر ہو سختی صعوبت ہی ان پر　　کسی کو ہو غم رنج وکلفت ہی ان پر
کہین ہو فلاکت مصیبت ہی ان پر　　کہین آئی آفت قیامت ہی ان پر
کسی پر چلین تیر آماج یہ ہین
لٹی کوئی راہگیر تاراج یہ ہین

If any body is in trouble, it is their heart that aches,
If any body is in misery, it is they who feel afflicted.
Whoever be hurt, it is they who feel injured;
Whoever be stricken, it is they who are pained,
Whoever be aimed at by misfortune, it is they who suffer, and
If any body is robbed, it is they who feel plundered.

یہ ہین حشر تک بات پر ارنی والی　　یہ پیمان کو میخون سی ہین جرنی والی
یہ فوج حوادث سی ہین لرنی والی　　یہ غیرون کی ہین آگ مین پرنی والی

امنڈتا ھی رکنی سی اور ان کا دریا
جنون سی زیادہ ھی کچہ ان کا سودا

They stand by their word till the end,
Their pledge is most reliable.
They confront all adversities,
And sacrifice themselves for others.
In the face of obstacles, their resoluteness increases
And their zeal gets the stamp of passionate zest.

جماتی ھین جب پاؤن ھتتی نہین یہ　　بڑھا کر قدم پہر پلتتی نہین یہ
گئی پہیل جب پہر سمتتی نہین یہ　　جہان بڑھہ گئی بڑھہ کی گہتتی نہین یہ
مہم بن گئی سر نہین بیتہتی یہ
جب اتہتی ھین اتہہ کر نہین بیتہتی یہ

If once they have resolved, they never waver
Having once stepped forward they never fall back.
If once they have proceeded, they never receed;
Having once advanced, they never retreat,
They never rest till they win,
They never succumb, if once they are up.

خدانی عطا کی ھی جوان کو قوت　　سمائی ھی دل مین بہت ان کی عظمت
نہین پہیرتی ان کا منہ کوئی زحمت　　نہین کرتی زیر انکو کوئی صعوبت
بہروسی پہ اپنی دل ودست وپا کی
سمجہتی ھین ساتہ اپنی لشکر خدا کی

Whatever power God has given them,
Their hearts are full of strength on its account.
No obstacle can make them hesitate and
No difficulty can defeat them.
Relying upon the strength of their mind & body,
They consider themselves as if supported by the Armies of God.

The
«Mahabharat Sarvrajia» Party.

I. The Congress Committee, Kabul, lays the foundations of an independent Party in the Indian National Congress, which will establish the "SARVRAJIA" GOVERNMENT in India.

In a Government based upon the "Sarvrajia" Principle, it is necessary that

(a) the major classes of society i. e. peasants, workers and poor intelligentsia, should be given the right of representation in proportion to their number like the minor classes i. e. capitalists and landlords; and this right of theirs i. e. of the major classes, be secured in all departments of the Republican State;

(b) such a permanent system of economy should be established as shall save the masses (peasants, workers and poor intelligentsia) from falling in debt and poverty, and shall save the country from foreign loans that may be detrimental to the political independence of the country. This Party shall be called the "MAHABHARAT SARVRAJIA" Party.

CHAPTER I.

Party Program and Principles.

II. The Mahabharat Sarvrajia Party shall struggle for the achievement of the following aims according to its Sarvrajia Principle:-

(*a*) To attain the complete independence of India, to establish a Republican form of Government, and to refuse to accept, as a basis of India's freedom, all such efforts as are at present being made for creating one nationality in India,

(*b*) To keep independent India free from Capitalist System and imperialistic policy, and to make the Indian Society an example for human race,

(*c*) To combine all the nations of India in the form of an Indian Federation,

(*d*) To create a Sarvrajia Asiatic Federation of all the Asiatic Peoples as an anti-imperialist and an anti-capitalist front,

(*e*) To secure the East its legitimate place in the comity of nations of the world.

III. The area of India is almost equal to that of Europe, excluding Russia. Among the inhabitants of her various parts, there exist fundamental differences on account of the variety of their cultures, languages, social customs and usages. The Sarvrajia Party is sure of the fact that Indians, even when they have attained their freedom,

shall retain such differences of language, and culture etc. as are at present found among various independent European nations. Hence the Party does not rely upon any unnatural unity in India and altogether refuses to make such a unity the basis of Indian independence.

(*a*) The Sarvrajia Party considers the freedom of each Indian country dependent upon the efforts of the labouring masses of that country;

(*b*) and does not acknowledge any form of government other than the Federal System as a means of maintaining Indian unity.

IV. The Sarvrajia Party shall endeavour to get its creed (its Principles and Program) accepted by the Indian National Congress.

(*a*) The Sarvrajia Party strictly abides by the Creed of the Indian National Congress so that the Party Organisation may remain safe from haphazard bloodshed, but the Party shall not take part in the activities of the Working Committees of the National Congress, till it wins over the majority of the members of some big or small Congress Committee to its view-point.

(*b*) The Sarvrajia Party shall not keep its struggle for Indian independence confined within the boundaries of British India alone but shall include the Native States also within the sphere of its

activities.

(c) The *Sarvrajia* Party does not take cognizance of the Provinces into which India has been divided by the Indian National Congress. But as an alternative to them, the Party divides India on the basis of linguistic and social differences into such countries as in future can constitute kindred Republics.

(d) The *Sarvrajia* Party shall, in its struggle for Indian independence, co-operate with all those Indian Political Parties which have the complete independence of India as their aim and which in no way support the Capitalist System.

CHAPTER II.

ORGANISATION.

Section (i) :- Divisions of India.

V. Nature has divided India into the three following parts, which are geographically quite distinct from one another:- (i) North Western (ii) North Eastern (iii) Southern or the Deccan. On account of political exigencies, the Sarvrajia Party considers each of these natural divisions a separate region comprising of various "countries".

(a) That part of the North Western region which is bounded on the North by the Lake

Manasarowar, the Himalayas, the Kara Koram and the Hindu Kush; on the East by Nepal, Benares, the Jumna and the Chambal Rivers; on on the South by River Narbada and the Arabian Sea; and on the West by Afghanistan and Persia, has been named by the Sarvrajia Party as "SARVRAJIA INDIA".

(b) The Sarvrajia Party divides Sarvrajia India into such tracts as are inhabited by a single nation, members of which speak a common language and possess a common socio-economic system. Each of these tracts shall be called a "Sarvrajia Country".

VI. The Party divides Sarvrajia India into the following ten Sarvrajia Countries for the present:-

(1) "*Bharat*" with Hindustani Urdu as its common language and Delhi, Agra and Lucknow as its chief centres. The Doaba of the Ganges and the Jumna is iucluded in this country.

(2) "*South Eastern Punjab*" with Punjabi as its common language and Amritsar as its principal city.

(3) "*Northern Punjab*" with Puthwari Punjabi as its common language and Rawalpindi as its chief city.

(4) "*South Western Punjab*", including Bahawalpur, with Mooltani Punjabi as its common language and Mooltan as its centre.

The city of Lahore shall remain outside the domain of these three Punjabi Republics.

(5) "*Kashmere*" with its Kashmeri language and

Srinagar as its capital.

(6) "*Pushtania*", having Pushtu as its common language and Peshawar as its centre.

(7) "*Baluchistan*" where Baluchi language is spoken and Quetta and Kelat are the chief cities.

(8) "*Sindh*" with Sindhi as its common language and Karachi as its centre.

(9) "*Gujerat*", with its Gujerati language and Ahmadabad as its centre.

(10) "*Rajputana*", with Hindustani Hindi as its common language and Ajmere as its principal town.

Each of these Sarvrajia Countries shall, in future, constitute a Sarvrajia Republic, which preserving its economical, cultural and political independence shall form a unit of the "FEDERATED REPUBLICS OF INDIA"

Section (ii):- Party Centre and Fields of activity.

VII. The permanent centre of the Sarvrajia Party shall be Delhi.

(*a*) The Sarvrajia Party makes Sarvrajia India, the principal field of its activity, so that it may serve as a model for the remaining two Natural Divisions of India.

(*b*) Lahore and Agra shall serve as the secondary centres of the Party in Sarvrajia India.

Section (iii) :- Party Members and volunteers.

VIII. Every male and female inhabitant of a Sarvrajia Country, without distinction of race or religion, can become the member of the Sarvrajia Party of his or her country, if he or she

(*a*) accepts the Creed of the Indian National Congress,

(*b*) faithfully accepts the Principles and Program of the Sarvrajia Party,

(*c*) subjects himself or herself to the Party Discipline;

(*d*) keeps down the needs and comforts of his or her life to the standard of life of an average cultivator of land of his or her country,

(*e*) transfers his or her property exceeding his or her needs [as mentioned in (d)] to the ownership of the Party.

NOTE: Till the Party decides to take charge of such transferred properties, these properties shall be held by their owners as a trust on behalf of the Party.

IX. Every male and female inhabitant of a Sarvrajia Country, without distinction of race or religion can become the Volunteer of the Sarvrajia Party of his or her country if he or she fulfils the first three conditions laid down above for Party Membership.

(*a*) It shall be the bounden duty of every Party Volunteer that if he or she finds the honour of an Indian woman or the sacred place of an Indian religion in danger, he or she would lay down even his or her life in protecting and defending it.

(*b*) Party Volunteers professing Hinduism shall treat not only the old Indian Untouchables on terms of equality with themselves but shall extend this fraternal treatment of theirs (without distinction of caste or creed) to all those persons also who have made India their Home.

(*c*) It shall be the bounden duty of every Party Volunteer, professing Islam, that he or she abides by the following decision of the Congress Committee, Kabul:-

"*The Congress Committee, Kabul, knows that the leaders of the Islamic World consider British domination of India the sole cause of their misfortunes; and when they are told that the insistance of Indian Moslems on cow-slaughter is one of the obstacles in the path of Indian freedom, they condemn this attitude of the Indian Moslems. Therefore, the Congress Committee, Kabul, resolves that cow-slaughter should altogether be stopped in those localities which have a mixed population of the followers of different religions*".

X. A Volunteer Corps, commanded by three Party Members i. e. one commander and two assistants, shall consist of three hundred Volunteers who shall be divided

into ten units, each of which shall be commanded by an officer chosen from amongst the Volunteers.

Section (iv):- Legislative and Executive Bodies:-

(a) *Sarvrajia Conference.*

XI. When at least one Volunteer Corps and 100 Party Members have been enlisted in a Sarvrajia Country, a joint Conference of Party Members and Volunteers shall be convened, and shall be called the Sarvrajia Conference of that Country. Members of all those Indian Political Parties, with which the Sarvrajia Party has decided to co-operate, can attend this Conference in a consultative capacity but the right of vote is reserved for Party Members and Volunteers only.

(*a*) The Sarvrajia Conference of a country is invested with all legislative, financial and executive powers of the Sarvrajia Party of that country.

This Conference shall elucidate and perfect these fundamental laws, elect its "Working Committee" of 20 Party Members and delegating it all its financial and executive powers, shall supervise over and approve of its activities.

(*b*) The first duty of the Sarvrajia Conference of a country shall be:-

(i) to pay off the old debts of the needy people from amongst the labouring classes, to save them from falling in debt again and to help the Moslems of its country, in case they cannot give up cow-slaughter on account of their poverty;

(ii) to fix the share of its country from out of the present-day Public Debt, which is undermining the political independence of India, and to transform it into such a loan as may not endanger the political independence of its country.

(*c*) For fulfilling this duty, the Conference shall collect Party Funds

(i) by taking charge of the transferred properties of the Party Members,

(ii) by collecting special subscriptions from well-to-do Volunteers,

(iii) by accepting donations from social reformers and humanitarian persons;

(iv) by levying the "Liberty Tax" upon every inhabitant of the country;

(v) by floating loans, firstly in its own country, then in Sarvrajia Countries and next in other parts of India.

(*d*) The real and the most important duty of the Sarvrajia Conference of a country shall be to build up its Sarvrajia Republic, for which purpose it shall educate the labouring classes politically and shall organise them in such a manner as may enable them to take part in every State Department of their country in proportion to their numbers.

(e) The Sarvrajia Working Committee shall be elected for one year and the Sarvrajia Conference shall be held twice a year i. e. in the Months of Hamal (April) and Mizan (October).

(f) An Emergency Session of the Conference can be called by the Sarvrajia Working Committee or on the joint request of 40 Party Members.

(b) *The Sarvrajia Working Committee.*

XII. The Sarvrajia Working Committee shall appoint the following six Sub-Committees for executing its various functions. Besides the Party Members, Party Volunteers shall also be included in these Sub-Committees on the choice of the Working Committee. In case of emergency such persons as sympathise with the Party Program, may also be taken into these Sub-Committees as paid servants:-

(a) *"Organisation Committee"* shall establish Party offices in every Pargana, Tahsil and District, which shall

(i) *organise Peasant Sabhas* [*Unions*], *Unions of Workers, Clerks, Teachers etc. and Student Clubs* or *shall affiliate such Sabhas, Unions, Clubs etc. to their own organisation;*

(*ii*) *collect Party Funds consisting of transferred properties of Party Members, Party loans, Liberty Tax aud donations from sympathisers of Swaraj*

and Sarvrajia and humanitarian persons;

(iii) prepare such lists of the needy people from amongst the labouring classes as may give complete figures about their indebtedness and about what they may require in future as grant-in-aid or loans without interest.

(*b*) "*Propaganda Committee*" shall issue a Sarvrajia Newspaper in its Vernacular language, establish a library, possessing literature concerning Party Program and having its branches attached to every office of the Organisation Committee. This Committee shall get the Party Program introduced as a course of studies in all Universities of the country and shall establish Training Schools which shall prepare teachers for instructing the students in Party Program.

(*c*) "*Discipline Committee*", which shall include only Party Members and Volunteers, shall issue disciplinary orders, provide for the needs of the Party Members and Volunteers, and shall take stock of their services. The orders of this Committee shall be final for Party Members & Volunteers.

(*d*) "*Co-operative Bank Committee*", which shall include paid specialists of finance, shall establish a Sarvrajia Co-operative *Bank* with Party Funds. In this Bank shall

(i) be collected the donations of social reformers and humanitarian persons & sympathisers of Swaraj and Sarvrajia, which shall be given as grant-in-aid or loans without interest to the needy persons of the labouring classes and with which their old debts shall be paid off;

(ii) be deposited the savings of business men in general and the labouring classes in particular, which shall be invested in Co-operative Societies. Depositors shall receive nointerest but shall have a share in the profits and losses of the Bank.

(iii) With the exception of those business dealings, which this Bank is obliged to have on interest with foreign countries, it shall have no such dealings within Sarvrajia India.

(*e*) *"Co-operative Societies Committee"* shall establish Sarvrajia Co-operative Societies with the capital of the Sarvrajia Co-operative Bank, which shall deal in agricultural products and the necessities of life of the labouring classes and shall act as mediums through which grant-in-aid or loans without interest shall be given to the labouring classes.

(f) "Debt Liquidation Committee" shall

(i) take upon itself the payment of the old debts of the indebted labouring classes and fix, by arbitration, the amount to be paid for liquidating their liabilities. This sum shall be paid off by the Sarvrajia Bank from out of its funds accruing from donations.

(ii) fix the liability of its country from out of the present-day Public Debt and for its liquidation, shall levy the "Liberty Tax" on all the inhabitants according to their social status and shall float loans in its own country, in other Sarvrajia Countries and in other parts of India.

(c) "*The Provisional Sarvrajia working Committee*".

XIII. Before the inauguration of the Sarvrajia Conference, when 20 Party Members have been enlisted in a Sarvrajia Country, they shall organize the *Propaganda Committee*, which shall undertake to fulfil temporarily all the duties of the Sarvrajia Working Committee.

(d) "*The Mahabbarat Sarvrajia Congress*".

XIV. The joint Congress of at least three Sarvrajia countries consisting of three hundred Party Members and 900 Volunteers has full powers regarding the internal affairs of the Sarvrajia Parties of all Sarvrajia Countries and their foreign relations. This Congress shall be called the "*Mahabharat Sarvrajia Congress*". Members of those Indian Political Parties, with which the Sarvrajia Party has decided to co-operate, can take part in the meetings of this Congress but shall not have the right of vote.

(*a*) This Congress shall elucidate and perfect those articles of these fundamental laws which appertain to the above-mentioned matters, and handing over its executive, financial and judiciary powers to its representative "*Mahabharat Sarvrajia Central Committee*" shall supervise over and approve of its activities.

(*b*) This Congress shall be held once a year

and shall have two kinds of Sessions; viz:-

(i) concerning the internal affairs of Sarvrajia *India,*

(ii) concerning foreign relations connected with Sarvrajia Asiatic Federation.

Special laws shall be framed for these matters.

(*c*) The first duty of this Congress shall be

(*i*) *to float loans in the name of one Sarvrajia Country in other* Sarvrajia *Countries and in the remaining parts of India, for the sake of satisfying the needs of the labouring classes of the country;*

(*ii*) *to fix the liability of* Sarvrajia *India from out of the present-day Indian Public Debt and to float loans in other foreign countries in order to transform it into such a debt as may not be detrimental to the political independence of the country. For this purpose the* Sarvrajia *Congress shall establish the* Central *Sarvrajia Co-operative Bank, Delhi, to* which *shall be affiliated all the Sarvrajia Co-operative Banks. The branches of the Central Bank shall be opened in all Asiatic* Countries *and its Agencies shall be established in Europe and America.*

(*d*) The second duty of the Sarvrajia Congress shall be to create the Indian Federal State, for which purpose, the Congress shall fix the boundaries of Sarvrajia Countries and shall appoint an Arbritration Panchayat, for settling national and religious disputes.

(*e*) Regarding foreign affairs, creating the Sarvrajia Asiatic Federation shall be the important task of the Sarvrajia Congress. For

this purpose Asiatic Nations shall take part in the meetings of the Sarvrajia Congress, which shall establish the centres of Sarvrajia Asiatic Federation in all Asiatic Countries and open its Sarvrajia Information Bureaus in Europe and America.

(e) *"The Mahabbharat Sarvrajia Central Committee".*

XV. The Mahabharat Sarvrajia Central Committee shall consist of 100 Party Members. None but Party Members shall take part in its Sub-Committees. Every Sarvrajia country shall be represented on the Mahabharat Sarvrajia Central Committee in proportion to its population.

(f) *"The Provisional M. S. Central Committee".*

XVI. Till the Mahabharat Sarvrajia Central Committee is elected, the Congress (Sarvrajia) Committee, Kabul, shall undertake to fulfil all its duties.

(*a*) The Congress (Sarvrajia) Committee, Kabul, shall not establish any economical relations with foreign countries unless it obtains a regular mandate from the Mahabharat Sarvrajia Central Committe.

(*b*) The Congress (Sarvrajia) Committee, Kabul, can change its headquarters from one Asiatic Country to another as circumstances demand.

CHAPTER III.

FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES OF SARVRAJIA REPUBLICS:-

Section (i):- Political and Economical.

XVII. Free and Compulsory Primary Education and Free Secondary Education shall be imparted to all boys and girls of school-going age. Special arrangements shall be made for educating persons of higher age. In order to provide facilities for such persons, the Sarvrajia Party supports the idea of writing Urdu language in separate letters.

XVIII. Peasants and allied village craftsmen, factory workers and poor intelligentsia (clerks, teachers etc.) shall have the irrevocable right of organizing themselves into Sabhas, Unions (Anjumans and Mahfils etc.) through which they shall take part in the Panchayat Elections and shall present their demands etc.

They shall have the irrevocable right of declaring a strike according to the decision of these Sabhas. Unions etc, even when they have a grievance against the State.

XIX. Every Sarvrajia Republic shall have the Panchayat (Legislative Body) which shall be invested with all legislative, financial and judiciary powers. Elections to the

Panchayat shall be regulated according to the following rules:-

(*a*) Every sane and adult male and female inhabitant of a Sarvrajia Republic, who has not been convicted of a moral crime, shall enjoy the suffrage in the elections to the Panchayat.

(*b*) Peasants, Workers and poor Inteligentsia shall be represented on the Panchayat through their Sabhas and Unions (Anjumans and Mahfils) in proportion to their population.

(*c*) Other classes of society i. e. Landlords, Bankers, Industrialists and Traders shall have the right of representation according to their numbers and in no case shall get a greater right of representation on account of their special interests.

(*d*) If any one of the propertied classes oppose the Economical and Political Fundaments of the Sarvrajia Republican State, as mentioned in this Chapter, its right of representation on the Sarvrajia Panchayat can be set-aside for a limited period of time. A special law shall be enacted for such a dis-franchisement.

XX. All Public Utilities shall be nationalized.

XXI. Right of possessing private property (both moveable and immoveable, shall be restricted. Poprerty over and above the fixed limit shall be considered national.

(*a*) The lowest limit of private property shall be fixed by the Sarvrajia Party Conference.

(*b*) Progressive income-tax, which shall not exceed 50% of the income, shall be levied on the rich.

mentioned condition concerning religion, avail itself of the State aid in religious matters, according to the proportion of its population.

(*b*) The religion which cannot pull on with the Political and Economical Fundaments of the Program of the Party, shall have the freedom of religious education only in case its followers assure the Central Committee of the Party that they will not take part in politics.

(*c*) Holy Places of all religions, without exception, shall be considered sacred and special laws shall be enacted regarding those limited areas where such Places are situated. If the Central Educational Institution of a nation be situated within the domains of another nation, it shall also be considered sacred according to a separate law.

XXX. If a Sarvrajia Republic adopts a religion as its State Religion or considers a religion to be in accord with the Economical and Political Fundaments of the Party Program, it

(*a*) shall provide its educational institutions and sacred religious places with State aid, in proportion to the number of its followers;

(*b*) shall observe Public Holidays on the occasions of its festivals,

(*c*) and shall help the followers of that religion in collecting the tax they impose upon themselves of their own accord.

(*d*) For missionary purposes, State aid shall not be given to any religion.

XXXI. For settling the differences and quarrels that may arise between the followers

of various Indian religions, the M. S. Central Committee shall appoint an Arbitration Panchayat in each Sarvrajia Republic according to the Juridical Law.

(*a*) If out of a family, a woman happens to change her religion and her father, son or husband is not proselytized along with her, she shall be cross-examined before this Panchayat and shall not be separated from her family without the express permission of this Panchayat.

(*b*) If before this Panchayat, the followers of a religion are proved to have several times seduced women in the name of religion, the State aid to such a religion, if it enjoys any, shall be stopped till its followers give complete satisfaction to the M. S. Central Committee regarding their future behaviour in this matter.

CHAPTER IV.

INDIAN FEDERAL SARVRAJIA REPUBLICAN STATE.

XXXII. Every Sarvrajia Republic, while preserving its economical, cultural and political independence, shall be a free partner in the Indian Federal Sarvrajia Republican State.

(*a*) The Capital of the Indian Federal Sarvrajia Republics shall be Delhi. Within the boundaries of Sarvrajia India, the Federal State shall have two secondary centres e. g. Lahore and Agra, which would serve as an example for creating similar secondary centres of the

Federal Government in North Eastern India and the Deccan also.

(*b*) Kashmere, Northern Punjab, South-Western Punjab, South Eastern Punjab, Pushtania, Baluchistan and Sindh Republics of Sarvrajia India, with a total population of 30 millions, shall belong to the centre of Lahore and shall have Hindustani (Urdu) as their common language; while the Republics of Bharat, Rajputana and Gujerat shall be attached to Agra and shall have Hindustani (Hindi, Urdu) as their common language.

(*c*) The Centres (both Primary and Secondary) of these Republics shall be excluded from the jurisdiction of local Republics, and special laws shall be framed for the administration of these Centres.

XXXIII. Every Sarvrajia Republic shall be represented in the Federal Government according to its economic, cultural and military importance and the proportion of its population. Relations between the Indian Federal State and its constituent Republics shall be regulated by means of a special law, to be formulated by the Sarvrajia Congress.

XXXIV. Under the Indian Federal Government, State shall be separated from Religion and the State shall have no special connection with any religion, nor shall it interfere in the religious affairs of its constituent Republics if their religions fulfil the condition upon

which the Sarvrajia Party has admitted their existence.

XXXV. For a certain period of time, Native States can join the Federal State if their rulers hand over the administration of their territories to the Sarvrajia Parties of their States and reserve for themselves the least possible rights ever enjoyed by a constitutional monarch.

CHAPTER V.

THE SARVRAJIA ASIATIC FEDERATION.

XXXVI. The Sarvrajia Party has the conviction that no system of government can be successful in Free India, unless the Asiatic Nations in general accept that system. Hence the Party considers it necessary that Asiatic peoples be federated in the form of an anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist front, the Sarvrajia Party acting as the central figure for the realisation of this scheme.

(a) The Sarvrajia Party accepts Soviet Russia as a member of the Asiatic Federation.

(b) Non-Asiatic backward countries like Egypt, Morocco etc. can join the Asiatic Federation through such parties of theirs as have been created to fight imperialism and capitalism.

(c) Asiatic countries having at present Monarchical Governments can remain members of Asiatic Federation even if their anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist

Parties accept political power there.

XXXVII. For the realisation of the Asiatic Federation Scheme, the Sarvrajia Party shall rely upon the Socialist Parties of Asiatic countries or upon those Parties which stand for protecting the interests of peasants, workers and poor intelligentsia.

(*a*) Members of those Indian Political Parties, with which the Sarvrajia Party has decided to co-operate and also the members of anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist Parties of Asia shall participate as members of the Sarvrajia Congress in those Sessions of this Congress which are devoted to matters connected with the Asiatic Federation scheme.

(*b*) In such Sessions as are mentioned in (a), members of American and European Socialist Parties and Workers' & Peasants' Parties shall join in consultative capacity only. They shall not have the right of vote.

XXXVIII The Sarvrajia Party makes its secondary centre, Lahore, the permanent centre of Asiatic Federation. If Afghanistan accepts the Asiatic Federation Scheme, the work of Lahore can, for a certain period of time, be conducted in Kabul.

(*a*) M. S. Central Committee shall continue its efforts for establishing its centres in all Asiatic countries and shall establish relations with their Socialist and and Workers' and Peasants' Parties.

(*b*) M. S. Central Committee shall open Sarvrajia Information Bureaus in Europe and America and through their agency shall try to win the sympathy of their Socialist and Workers' and Peasants' Parties.

XXXIX. The Sarvrajia Party shall not join any International Body as a member, unless it secures a regular Mandate from the Asiatic Federation.

XL. The Sarvrajia Party shall not recongnise any International Religious Body, as the Caliphate, unless the official commandments of that religion are proved to be free from all reactionary articles against the International Politics (i. e. opposition to imperialism and capitalism) of the Party.

پرونا ایك هی تسبیح مین ان بکهری دانون کو
جو مشکل هی تو اس مشکل کو آسان کرکی چهودو نگا

"All these scattered beads are to be strung together ;
" If it be a difficult task, I will fulfil it ".

Hindustani Manzil,
Dated :- STAMBOUL.
September, 25 1924.

Zafar Hasan
Secretary,
Congress (Sarvrajia)
Committee,
KABUL.

عبیداللہ (*Obeidullah*)
President,
Congress (Sarvrajia)
Committee,
KABUL.

بن ولد نصر علی حسین شیخ

منصور علی ولد اعلا اکبر

شکار کرده